DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 254 932 EA 017 597

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TITLE Being and Becoming a Principal: Responses to Work Contexts and Socialization Processes.
PUB DATE 2 Apr 85
NOTE 53p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, March 31-April 4, 1985).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Education; Administrator Role; *Assistant Principals; Elementary Secondary Education; Leadership Styles; Longitudinal Studies; *Principals; *Role Perception; *Teacher Promotion; *Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Occupational Socialization; *Role Transition

ABSTRACT

Partial results are reported from a longitudinal study that investigated role learning among teachers seeking and obtaining principalships or assistant principalships. Data were obtained from indepth interviews with 14 administrative candidates. A brief theoretical discussion classifies new administrators' job behavior according to three responses to organizational socialization and defines six binary variables that describe socializing aspects of administrator selection, hiring, and training. Findings are then discussed, beginning with those for the six socialization variables and their relationships to the three responses. The passages that follow, interspersed with quotes from interviews, briefly describe candidates' perspectives on their own situations. Novice administrators' reflections on their transition to the administrative work-world are related, and influences on the development of an "administrative perspective" are analyzed. A discussion of variables related to the development of an administrative perspective and a set of theoretical propositions conclude the paper. A bibliography is included. (MCG)

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Being and Becoming A Principal: Responses to Work Contexts and Socialization Processes

by

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1985

This paper was presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting held in Chicago, April 2, 1985

EA 017 597

Introduction

This paper reports partial results of a longitudinal study of socialization processes and outcomes attending the efforts of fourteen public school teachers to become school administrators. The investigation began in 1972 with a depth-interview study of the process of administrative candidacy as perceived and experienced by eighteen students enrolled in an educational administration degree program in the Southwestern United States. The results of the initial phase of the study described the early phase of candidacy and offered a theoretical framework interrelating interpersonal, social process, and organizational context variables associated with the process of candidacy and the development of administrative perspective (Greenfield, 1977).

The purpose of this paper is to describe socialization processes characterizing the transition from teaching to administration, perspectives toward the situation of candidacy, factors influencing the development of administrative perspective, and the reflections of novice administrators upon their transition to the administrative work-world. The paper concludes with a discussion of the social process and context variables related to the development of administrative perspective, and offers a set of propositions regarding the relationship between role-learning during candidacy and the transition into a full-time administrative assignment as principal or assistant principal.

Context is a critical determinant of (1) the content of informal learning that occurs during candidacy and, (2) the character of the adjustment the novice administrator makes to his or her role; i.e., what the rookie views as important and/or problematic. Data indicate that novices view four role dimensions as important determinants of successful role-enactment, that school contexts differ

substantially, and that transition into the administrative role is mediated by both current work context and previous role-learning during candidacy.

Theoretical Framework

The study is informed by the general literature in the sociology of occupations and professions, and draws in particular upon career socialization theory as a basis for analyzing and interpreting the data. Several key concepts guided the study and will be referred to throughout the remainder of this report. Socialization refers to the process through which one acquires the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to adequately perform a social role (Brim, and Wheeler, 1966). Organizational socialization refers to "the process by which one is taught and learns "the ropes" of a particular organizational role" (Van Maanan and Schein, 1979:211). It is a process concerned with the manner in which one develops the attitudes, perspectives, and behaviors needed to work satisfactorily within organizational settings. It usually begins before one actually enters a particular role or position ("anticipatory socialization", Merton, 1957:319) and continues in varying degrees throughout one's organizational career. Finally, the process may be deliberate, or it may occur informally without conscious intention or awareness by either the socialization agent or the persons affected (Brim and Wheeler, 1966).

Organizational socialization has two primary foci: moral socialization objectives and technical socialization objectives. Moral socialization is concerned with the acquisition and internalization of group norms, values, and attitudes. Technical socialization is concerned with the acquisition and appropriate use of knowledge, skills, and associated techniques needed to adequately perform in a particular role or position.

Responses to organizational socialization processes take at least three forms: custodianship, content innovation, and role innovation. Custodianship

involves accepting the status quo and assuming a custodial or a caretaker response to the responsibilities, mission, and activities associated with the role. content innovation involves reform or some effort to substantially improve or change the strategies, activities, or practices of the role. In this case the stated expectations or traditional norms associated with the role are accepted for the most part, but the newcomer seeks to apply new ideas, knowledge, and strategies with the aim of making the role more effective or different. A third socialization response, referred to as role innovation, goes beyond content innovation and reflects on effort by the newcomer to "redefine the ends to which the role functions" (Van Maanan and Schein, 1979). The basic theory is that different socialization responses are a function of differences in organizational socialization tactics, contexts, and conditions.

Van Maanan and Schein (1979), in developing a theory of career socialization based on early work by Brim and Wheeler (1966), propose a socialization framework that includes six process dimensions. Variations in these processes are theoretically related to different socialization responses:

1. Collective versus individual
2. Formal versus informal
3. Sequential versus random
4. Fixed versus variable
5. Serial versus disjunctive
6. Investiture versus divestiture

(1979:232)

Collective socialization involves movement as a group through a boundary passage or related socialization experience; individual socialization refers to processing people individually and in a relatively or completely isolated fashion. The difference in part is one of shared versus idiosyncratic

experiences. Formal socialization processes segregate the recruit from other organizational members and make that individual's special status known to both the recruit and others; informal processes usually do not specify the recruit's role and no effort is made to differentiate the recruit from other organizational members. Sequential socialization refers to the extent to which a specific series of steps is required in order to reach a target role; random socialization processes are highly ambiguous, unknown, or frequently changing. Fixed processes are characterized by a clear time-table associated with the completion of a given passage; variable processes are characterized by little information as to when a passage will be completed, or "how much" or "how long" is enough. Serial processes are characterized by the presence of role-models who may deliberately "groom" recruits to assume similar positions; disjunctive processes, in contrast, are marked by the absence of role-models who might inform or otherwise influence the recruit as to how to proceed. Investiture processes serve to confirm the appropriateness and worth of the recruit's capabilities, attitudes, and orientations "we like you as you are"; divestiture processes seek to sever old associations and values, to re-orient the recruit and alter the view of the recruit holds of self and others (The preceeding definitions closely parallel the discussion by Van Maanan and Schein, 1979: 232-253).

Van Maanan and Schein (1979) hypothesize that "a custodial response will be most likely to result from a socialization process which is 1) sequential, 2) variable, 3) serial, and 4) involves divestiture processes' (p. 253). Content innovation "is most likely to occur through a socialization process which is 1) collective, 2) formal, 3) random, 4) fixed, and 5) disjunctive" (p. 253). The role innovation response is most likely to occur "when the

socialization process is 1) individual, 2) informal, 3) random, 4) disjunctive, and 5) involves investiture processes" (p. 254).

The concept of perspective is used as a benchmark to indicate differences in the work-world orientations of teachers and administrators, and orientations characterizing members of the administrative reference group will be referred to as "administrative perspectives". Perspectives "are patterns of thought and action which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional pressures" (Becker, 1961). Perspectives evolve in response to the organizational pressures that characterize the work-worlds of role incumbents. To the extent that pressures attendant to these work-worlds, differ, different perspectives evolve. Theoretically, the candidate for administrative appointment may be viewed as an individual in a transitional role, moving from membership in the teacher group toward membership in the administrative group. As this transition occurs the candidate begins to acquire the perspective of members of the administrative group to which he aspires.

Procedures

The major purpose of the study was to describe the process of moving from teaching to administration and to understand the socialization outcomes and the variables mediating that process. To this end the procedures used in collecting and analyzing the data were deliberately open-ended, given the desire to generate and develop rather than test ideas and propositions. The data were collected directly from 14 teachers working in a large metropolitan school district. While base-line demographic data regarding professional histories and personal background characteristics were collected through an investigator-designed questionnaire, the majority of the data were collected through a depth interview technique (Merton, Fiske, and Kendall, 1956).

All interviews were taped and later transcribed, and each interview lasted approximately 1½ - 2 hours. A total of five interviews were conducted with each teacher at two-year intervals. Data were analyzed using the constant-comparative method of analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and in the early phase of the study data analysis proceeded concurrently with data collection in order to facilitate the identification of useful analytical categories and to maximize the power of the method to illuminate patterns in the data. Later stages of analysis relied on traditional methods of content analysis.

Despite the limitations inherent in the study design and procedures, particularly in that it was not originally conceived as a longitudinal study of career socialization processes and outcomes (the initial intention being limited to the development of a theoretical framework to describe and explain relationships between individual, social process, and organizational context variables as they served to mediate the experience of candidacy and the development of administrative perspective), the open-ended design and the depth-interview method have enabled the investigator to gain insight into a wide range of phenomena associated with career dynamics (Schein, 1978) in general, and in particular the interplay between work and non-work factors associated with career mobility (Greenfield, 1983) and the frustrations and adjustments associated with being an assistant principal or principal.

While the purposes and methods of this study have not responded directly to the strategies and intentions noted by Macpherson (1984), and do not reflect either a symbolic interactionist or a phenomenological perspective per se, the results are nevertheless illuminating of the interplay between social processes, social contexts, and socialization outcomes as these are reflected in the

behaviors of individuals and in the understandings that are developed as incumbents come to terms with their work, their careers, and themselves.

The results reported in the remainder of this paper are limited to a description of the socialization processes (Van Maanan and Schein, 1979) characterizing the career transitions of teachers in the process of becoming administrators, the socialization responses of individuals who have actually become assistant principals or principals, and the work-world perspectives of individuals in different work contexts associated with their transition from teaching to administration.

Results

The socialization processes characterizing the transition from teaching to administration are characterized as 1) individual, 2) informal, 3) random, 4) variable, 5) serial, and 6) as involving both divestiture and investiture processes.

Processed Individually

All but one of the 14 candidates held positions in the same metropolitan school district. While this was so there was no evidence that candidates were processed collectively. With the exception of the requirement to complete certain paperwork in order to be considered for a specific administrative position, there were no other occasions in which candidates might be considered to be engaged in a collective process. Even the two exceptions just noted are not properly thought of as "collective"; i.e., movement as a group through a boundary passage or a related socialization experience.

While some school districts may deliberately process candidates as a group, this was not the case in the system being studied. Individuals basically designed their own candidacy strategy, often with the help of an administrative sponsor or as the result of advice from "friends" or "classmates" who also

viewed themselves as potential administrators. Two excerpts from initial interviews illustrate the individual mode of the process of candidacy:

> Well, the first thing I have to do is get my courses of study out of the way, and then its just a formal process of applying...and then being on a waiting list. If you know somebody, he will help you get in -- if you don't know anyone, well, you may never get in...
>
> Number Eight

> I do this coursework at the university; I put in an application for a supervisory position and filled out an application for a supervisory position and filled out an application for a principalship position
>
> Number Eleven

> When you apply for jobs and you don't get them, it gets discouraging. You get to the point where you are not sure whether...why you are not getting the jobs. Aren't you qualified, or aren't you saying the right things -- and yet I don't get that kind of feedback.
>
> Number Fifteen

The individual mode gives the socialization agent(s) maximum potential to influence a candidate, places candidates in isolation from one another and results in a highly idiosyncratic candidacy experience, dependent primarily upon the individual's unique work situation and the type of relationship he or she has with an administrative superior, who may or may not choose to be a sponsor, and who may or may not be an appropriate role model or a successful sponsor. The socialization outcomes will be innovative or custodial depending on other conditions.

The Process is Informal

There is no formal designation of status as a "candidate" by the organization, and no other formal efforts are made to differentiate the candidate from other members of the organization. A "trial and error" condition exists for the candidate, and this makes it more difficult for the candidate to know what is valued and for the organization to influence what is being learned.

> I think they're looking more now than in the past to see if you're fairly friendly to people...
>
> Number Eight

> You've got to show people you're doing a good job...
>
> Number Ten

> Well, about the only way is to make yourself seen, and make yourself visible, and make yourself known. You have to know the right people.
>
> Number Seven

> It is very unclear...In the future I'd like to talk to some of the people...someone who can give me an idea of just what the game-plan should be to acquiring an administrative position.
>
> Number Four

> My feeling is that I've probably got as good a chance as anyone. I haven't been out beating the bushes, but I know a lot of people and I've done some writing...Unless somebody takes kind of a personal interest in me and picks up the phone -- you are just kind of shut off from all sources of information. I think if you don't have some friends in the system who keep you informed and are dropping your name when things come up, you just don't know what's going on. I think most of what is involved in getting into this business is largely knowing some people and knowing what's available, and I think going out and selling yourself.
>
> Number Nine

There is no formal process, apart form submitting one's application when vacancies are announced. As a result, candidates are left pretty much on their own to gain informal access to and possible sponsorship by a member of the administrative group. While it is clear to candidates that its "who you know", it is not clear what else might be entailed, other than "doing a good job." Given the informal character of the process, it is difficult for candidates to know where they stand or what they're supposed to do in order to be successful candidates.

The Process Appears Random

There are few clear steps and events associated with the process which enable the candidate to anticipate his or her progress or the efficacy of strategies employed. While it appears from the data that movement into positions such as department chair or high school activities director are viewed as helpful -- as marks of "progress" in a sense -- these steps often as not make little difference regarding advancement or "being on the right track".

One exception to this was appointment as a "summer school principal." This appointment often preceeded appointment to a position as assistant high school principal -- again, it was no guarantee. At the elementary level, the parallel appeared to be assignment to a clinical supervision role associated with a field-based training project sponsored jointly by the university and the school district -- again, no guarantee. So, while it did appear that such appointments represented a "step" in the process, it was neither a necessary step nor one which carried with it the promise of eventual appointment to an administrative position.

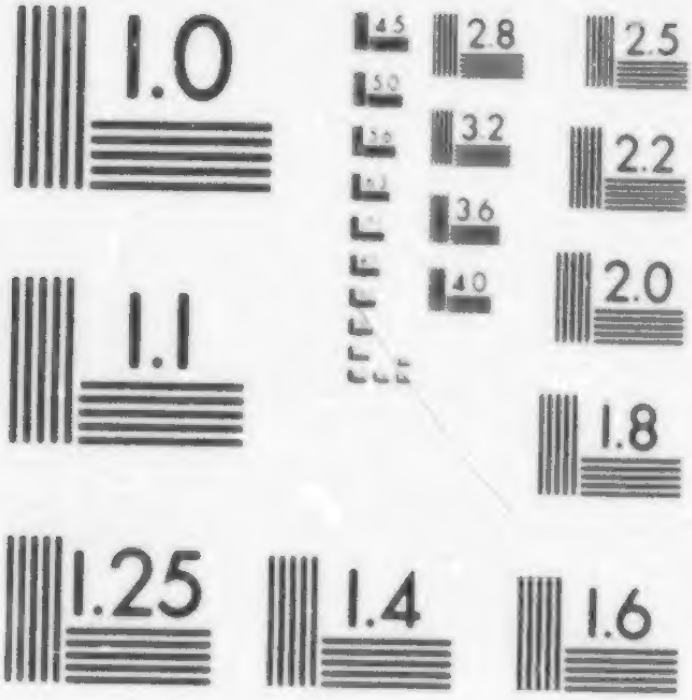
> They are giving me messages like I should go through the supervisor program at the university and be a clinical supervisor. Well, that takes two years.
>
> Number Fifteen

> I'm Department Chairman here now. I was Activities Director, which was kind of a step up. The principal and I had many, many differences on the extra curricular program, and so I left and came over here. I thought I'd get back in it and see what happens. Give it one last try. If nothing comes the next year or two, I'll just kind of resign myself to the fact that nothing's going to open up.
>
> Number Three

> I was Department Chair...I was hoping for an administrative position when I came back, which did not develop...I applied for the assistant principalship here and I was rather expecting to get it because I had been led to believe I had it. It was overridden at Central Office...I am head of the department...I will be leaving here for summer school. That is a great thing that I'm really looking forward to. I'll be one of the summer school principals. This will be getting into administration to see if I really like it, how I can perform, and all that sort of thing.
>
> Number Thirteen

> I'd been a high school counselor for three years, and I'd been a counselor at an elementary-junior high combination for two years, and a classroom teacher for three...and I was just appointed here as the assistant principal (a high school).
>
> Number Twelve

> It was really very sudden. One day the superintendent came in and said how would you like to be acting principal for the rest of the year? I was a supervisor then...had been for five years.
>
> Number Sixteen



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

> I was a resource teacher...I put in an application for a coordinator's position...I didn't get it. Anyway, I told our principal at the time "You know, doggone it, I'm going to keep trying for whatever comes along because here I am working on the specialist and everything, and I don't want to remain in the classroom all of the time"...Something came out in the newsletter where they wanted curriculum assistants..."I think I'll apply for it. I don't have a chance in the world but just for the heck of it I'm going to try"...and so they offered me the job -- as assistant principal (elementary)
>
> Number Eleven

The process was essentially random, from the candidates' viewpoint, as there were no clearly specified steps or events associated with boundary passage. For some, the appointment came as a real surprise; for other's it seemed like they'd passed a "known" hurdle (the summer school principalship) and it was just a matter of waiting in line -- "being a member of a minority, I was lucky, because in rank order it goes something like blacks, chicanos, Indians, and females. I'm ranked around number four in a pecking order"

A Variable Time-Frame

The fourteen candidates were initially fairly enthusiastic about their prospects for administrative appointment, but as time went by they adjusted their expectations -- some were ready to give it up entirely, feeling they'd been overlooked and that people with less experience or fewer qualifications were being appointed (unfairly). Number Three had been teaching four years, had coached, been appointed department chair, and notes "give me one more year of classroom experience and I think I'll apply -- you have to have five years of classroom experience, I think, to become an administrator." Some seven years later, after moving to another school, being appointed to and later leaving a position as an Activities Director, having completed his Master's degree plus 30 additional credits, says "I'll give it one last try".

Another candidate, in her twelfth year as a teacher and tenth year as a candidate, says:

> Yes, I think I am still interested in administration but, again, I just think I hit things at the wrong time. I have applied...they have gone to people with less education and less experience but have the right name and the right color. I'd hate to tell you how many jobs I've lost that way.
>
> Number Fifteen

> I'm still head counselor here, so its really like what I was doing two years ago. Last summer I had an interview and was chosen for a principal of summer school. Supposedly this was to be a real good stepping stone.
>
> Number Eight

> I've been in the classroom now for fourteen years. I'm tired of teaching. I want to get into administration.
> (and four years later)
> Yes, I'm still pursuing my endeavors to be an administrator...but very little hope because of affirmative action, stuf. like that. They are promoting women and minorities.
>
> Number Seven

The variable time-frame associated with appointment keeps candidates "in the dark", making it hard for them to know where they stand. Among those who have moved in to either assistant principal or principal positions, the number of years as an active candidate ranges from three to eight years; and the number of years in education prior to administrative appointment ranges from nine to nineteen years, with the mean for that group being 14 years of previous experience. Among those who are still active candidates but who have not been appointed, the number of years of teaching experience ranges from 13 to 28 years. The variable time-frame is hypothesized by Van Maanan and Schein (1979) to increase individual anxiety and to thus increase the likelihood of conformity toward influentials, thereby increasing the chances of producing a custodial response (p. 246).

A Serial Pattern

The serial socialization process, whereby current members of the organization act as role-models and may actively "groom" recruits, characterizes the situation of candidates for administrative appointment. Indeed, education may be distinct in this regard, as an occupation, in that the entire "career" in

education, is characterized by a serial socialization process which begins during one's earliest years in school as a student. From the first year as a student in an elementary school until appointment as a teacher and perhaps eventually as an administrator, the prospective incumbent passes through many years of "informal" socialization for subsequent roles; the K-12 years reflect a serial pattern, and additionally, the individual is under the influence of teachers and administrators that entire period. The investigator notes this because, theoretically, the serial socialization pattern is the most likely to produce a custodial response.

Two possible exceptions were noted among the candidates who became elementary school principals; they may represent a "quasi-serial" process. In one case, the individual progressed from teaching, to counseling, to a central office supervisory role and then to an elementary principalship. She does appear to reflect a custodial response, and this may merely be a function of her long number of years within that school system. In the other case, and this may be an example of an innovative response, the individual taught for seven years prior to candidacy, became a candidate as a result of experience as president of a teacher's union, pursued his Master's degree on a full-time basis, applied for and failed to obtain a principalship, decided to pursue his doctorate on a full-time basis (never completed), worked for several years as a program administrative assistant in two different field-based training projects, and applied for a principalship again, finally securing one approximately six years after having left his last public school teaching assignment.

This pattern may be more disjunctive than serial in the sense that this candidate had been out of public school teaching for six years and entered an organization in which he was clearly a newcomer -- an outsider. In general,

however, the process for the remainder of candidates was serial in character; while many were "groomed", few actually were "moved up".

Direct Investiture and Indirect Divestiture

Divestiture processes seek to change individual's orientations, to sever old associations and values, and tends to increase the likelihood of developing a custodial socialization response. These processes are normally quite subtle and are revealed in the gradual development of administrative perspective. However, in at least one instance, they involved quite overt actions on the part of the organization -- the message is clear -- "if you were behaving as an administrator you wouldn't have let that happen."

Usually, the process is less direct. As the candidate begins to do some of the scut-work (that which many teachers refuse to do or which they dislike doing -- monitoring, helping out in the evenings, being a "go-for" and assisting administrators with many major and minor projects), the "teacher" self is gradually shed and the "administrator" self evolves. The process of divestiture is in part related to the development of administrative perspective and may take years to unfold; it does not appear to be a conscious or deliberate strategy by the organization, but seems more a by-product of other characteristics of the socialization processes (individual, informal, variable, and random, and the associated increase in anxiety and pressure to conform).

In the overt instance of divestiture, it appeared that organizational superiors were making an effort to "get the message" to an "improperly" socialized recruit -- an acting principal at the time, who had "permitted" her faculty to extend visitation invitations to the superintendent and members of the Board of Education. From the superiors standpoint the candidate clearly violated some norms of the administrative group.

> Before the teachers at this school knew the principal was going to resign, they kind of supported me very strongly and they asked "What

> is it we can do, as a group, to help insure that you get here next year?" They came up with the idea of writing the Board members and inviting them to the school; and they wrote a letter by grade level and sent this letter to the superintendent and the Board members inviting them to just come out and look at some of the accomplishments that had been made during the year. When the superintendent got the letter, he called his assistant who called me and said "Why did you let your teachers write this letter; you know that certainly doesn't look right?" I didn't know anything about it so I made an appointment with the superintendent to explain this to him...I was reprimanded by the Superintendent and by my immediate boss.
>
> Number Eleven

Investiture processes, on the other hand, are more direct and are efforts by the organization to confirm the worth and appropriateness of certain valued orientations, skills, attitudes, and behaviors. The process essentially says to the candidate "we like such and such about you", encouraging more of the same.

> The principal here asked me about being an administrator and he singled me out as the only woman member of the faculty that he would encourage along those lines...
>
> Number Thirteen

> He was trying to get me into administration. He was trying to put me into administration then and there. He told me. He said "You got it. You got it. Go out and get your degree."
>
> Number Two

> ...it hasn't anything to do with the fact that you just know him, you have to be worthwhile to know...I have a tendency to say what I think...I think that is something he looks for in a person.
>
> Number Sixteen

> They were just real nice to me. So I kind of just associated pretty closely with the principals...they were always complementing me on the job I was doing...we had a couple of fights and I was always there; or something like that.
>
> Number Three

> I think it was a year or so ago when I decided I would go after this department head position. At the very last, one of my principals said "Well, if you are thinking of administration, then that is a logical stepping-stone."
>
> Number Nine

> I began working on the Science Committee in the school, and was asked to represent our school at the District and I did, and I didn't hold back there, so I was asked several times chroughout the district, to do workshops, to act as moderator...
>
> Number Fourteen

The investiture process essentially tells the candidate "we like what we see -- keep up the good work." It is a very subtle process that unfolds slowly and, in time and given certain other conditions, the individual discards many of the values and orientations of regular classroom teachers and begins to take on more and more of the characteristics, values, and work-world orientations of administrators. Divestiture processes also appear to play a part in this evolution of self, but they are more indirect and seem to evolve as a function of the situation of candidacy itself. The examples of this include doing anything on a voluntary basis that members of the teacher group would not normally view as part of their work as teacher. Many of these activities include after-hours work involving administrator-types of activities: setting up chairs, breaking up fights, attending after-school events to help monitor students, patrolling the school grounds or the halls, lending a hand early in the morning at arrival time, or helping out in the cafeteria; activities which teachers typically dislike but which candidates often seek out in their effort to be visible and to gain approval by superiors. In the vernacular, doing some of the "dirty work" that inevitably falls on administrators shoulders because no one else is willing or able to do it.

Perspectives of Candidates and Novice Administrators

Perspective refers to "patterns of thought and action which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional pressures" (Becker, 1961). The orientations in the administrative group, referred to henceforth as administrative perspectives, are different from the teacher perspectives, reflecting a different set of organizational pressures. In the initial phase of the study, the data revealed two basic patterns regarding candidate's perspectives in response to the situational pressures of candidacy (Greenfield, 1977). These are different from but appear related to the development of administrative

perspective, and both are described briefly in an effort to illustrate the socialization response(s) which develop among candidates and novice administrators.

The basic thesis is that perspectives toward candidacy are a function of candidate's interpersonal orientations and motivations interacting with the pattern of socialization processes noted earlier, that the candidacy perspectives which emerge are a necessary prelude to the development of administrative perspective, and that the fullness of administrative perspective in turn mediates the ease or difficulty of adjustment to the administrative role.

Perspectives Toward Candidacy

This discussion is based on data reported earlier (Greenfield, 1977) and will thus be brief. The initial data revealed that the situation of candidacy is extremely ambiguous and quite loosely structured -- few candidate behaviors were formally prescribed and candidates were left pretty much to their own devices in determining what was and was not appropriate or required behavior. The only formal structure prescribing candidate behavior were the requirements that he or she complete university coursework and become qualified for administrative certification by the state, and that the candidate apply to the district office for administrative appointment in order to become eligible for selection as a principal or assistant principal. Beyond these two requirements candidates faced a situation presenting no clear guidelines regarding their behavior, knowledge or skills to be developed, or activities to be pursued as a candidate.

In spite of this, candidates appeared to operate on the assumption that there must be some formal "game-plan", and all they had to do was to figure out what was required. The general conclusion among candidates was that being a successful candidate usually required being visible to administrators, getting sponsored, and "knowing" the right person.

> It is very unclear. You know why it is unclear? I think it is because there definitely is a game-plan to acquiring an administrative position. I don't know what it is. If I did, I'd be playing the game.
>
> Number Four

> I think to a large extent it is who you know, and to a lesser extent what you know. I think you have to have the proper relationships with the proper people, who kind of push you along.
>
> Number Nine

> Well, about the only way is to make yourself seen, and make yourself visible, and make yourself known. You have to know the right people...
>
> Number Seven

Candidates were observed to share this general view in common, but to adjust to these circumstances quite differently. Two basic perspectives toward candidacy emerged as a function of candidates' interpersonal orientations and their level of motivation to become an administrator -- that is, these two personal orientations related to the way in which they adjusted to their definition of the situation. Level of motivation was revealed in comments by the candidates regarding the intensity of their interest in becoming administrators. Some were rather "ho hum" and others could be described as eager.

> I have been trying to get an administrative certificate, and I don't know if I have any real reason for it except that I am getting bored in the classroom...
>
> Number Eighteen

> I talk to anybody who is in any kind of supervisory position. I do this because I want to get ahead. I try to make it a point to talk to the superintendent whenever possible.
>
> Number Fourteen

> I do things for show...I do favors for them...You know, kind of going out of your way to do it; but it pays off in the long-run.
>
> Number Two

In addition to different levels of motivation to actually become an administrator, candidates also differed in their interpersonal orientation. This was an initial blocking variable that the researcher anticipated would facilitate a preliminary, albeit superficial, ordering of data provided by biographical data

and preliminary self-report; this variable assumed an unanticipated importance, however, and was unexpectedly powerful in helping the researcher interpret and understand the candidate behavior patterns that emerged. The Mach V Scale (Christie & Geis, 1970) is a well validated and reliable measure of interpersonal style, with the underlying theory predicting that the greatest differences in style would occur in highly ambiguous as opposed to highly structured situations. This proved to be true.

A high score on the instrument predicted an analytic style characterized by situational limits-testing, initiation and control of structure, and instrumental exploitation of resources vis a vis the goals sought by the individual in the situation. A low score on the instrument predicted an affective style characterized by the implicit assumption of unstated limits in the situation, acceptance of the structure provided by others, and a susceptibility to affective involvement in interpersonal interaction which tended to deflect instrumental goal achievement in the situation. The scores ranged from a high of 120 to a low of 80; the lowest possible score is 40 and the highest is 160, with a theoretical and empirical midpoint score of 100. To facilitate differentiation, individuals scoring between 98 and 102 were dropped from the study, leaving two groups of seven. Four candidates who were not tested originally were classified as high or low based on a content analysis of their interview data, yielding an initial set of two groups of nine high and nine low scoring candidates. The total candidate pool in subsequent years was reduced to 14, after losses of subjects due to either leaving the profession or relocating geographically and not being able to be contacted for follow-up.

Analysis of behavior patterns revealed in the interview data and consideration of the Mach V scores and candidates' level of motivation to become an administrator yielded four basic types of candidates: Analytic-High Motivation;

Analytic-Low Motivation; Affective-High Motivation; Affective-Low Motivation. Subsequent analysis of data revealed two basic candidate perspectives toward the situation of candidacy: an assertive perspective and a complacent perspective. All of the Analytic-High Motivation candidates reflected what is referred to as the assertive perspective; all others reflected the complacent perspective.

Candidates reflecting the assertive perspective went out of their way to gain access and visibility to administrators, and actively used "organizational space" (Katz and Kahn 1966; Ortiz, 1972) to further enhance visibility and access.

> I usually try to sit as close as I can to them, the source of power -- to be visible I guess. I volunteer ideas and I try to save my best ideas to present to people who count.
>
> Number Fourteen

> You become educated in people...I always stop by the principal or assistant and I ask them questions and pose problems to them -- they seem willing to sit down and tell me things too, about school or about some problem they're having.
>
> Number Four

> I used that -- my ability to analyze -- to be appointed to specific committees that would allow me to have more entrance into the problem-solving situations.
>
> Number One

> I think that if they realize that you're serving on extra committees this is looked upon favorably and they are worth pursuing. I keep up in my field and I go to regional conferences and local and state level committees.
>
> Number Thirteen

Candidates reflecting the complacent perspective tended not to go out of their way to gain access or visibility, assumed they would eventually be recognized for their merit, and looked disparingly on any efforts to "brown-nose".

> I don't know if I know anyone or not, but I'm being hopeful -- They're looking more now than in the past to see if you are fairly friendly to people -- I don't mean like if you are brown-nosing, but if you are genuine...as far as school committees -- it just doesn't seem like there are many I could be on...sometimes the principal will ask me to attend one for him.
>
> Number Eight

> I wouldn't have ever volunteered...the principal was always pushing me into things...there is no way of speeding up the process -- I haven't pushed, period.
>
> Number Sixteen

The basic consequence of these two different perspectives toward candidacy is that they mediate the degree of fullness of administrative perspective that is eventually developed. As a result of gaining high access and high visibility to members of the administrative group, the development of administrative perspective is facilitated. The most assertive candidates deliberately used organizational space, and hence did not develop as full an administrative perspective. The fuller perspective is revealed below:

> There was something that really separated us from the vast majority of teachers who would never be able to see, who didn't wish to know, what the superintendent was doing. I think there is kind of a naivite' in teachers about how an organization does operate and what's necessary for it to continue.
>
> Number One

> Teachers do nothing for the school. They don't attend any of the, I mean they attend the faculty meetings until five minutes to three, and then they get up and walk out -- because its on their time...They're not about to, they don't sponsor any clubs, they don't come to any dances; they come to all of the ball games because they get in free. But if there is any trouble, then they are gone -- you can never find them.
>
> Number Two

The above comments reflect the difference in orientation to the work situation held by administrators, in contrast to teachers. These two assertive candidates had developed a fairly full administrative perspective -- they viewed the work-world and experienced pressures and frustrations similar to those experienced by administrators; the press of the school as an organization in contrast to the press of the individual classroom. Candidates holding a complacent perspective toward the candidacy situation did not develop as full or as complete an administrative perspective. Commenting on the administrative role, the perspective of complacent candidates is less developed:

> You've got more time for such things as studying materials, reviewing materials...I think when you get to faculty meetings you can get a ditto out to people and they can sit there and read for four minutes, and then the meeting can be over. There are so many more valuable things -- you could have a workshop devoted to teacher materials.
>
> Number Six

> I could really see what it would take to be a good administrator; always fair in his decisions; really cares about the people who are under him; able to roll with the punches; never hesitated to call a teacher on the carpet that needed to be reprimanded -- or to back a teacher; got along well with everyone; knew how to communicate with teachers, parents, kids -- understood them.
>
> Number Five

The above comments reflect a mixed perspective, or what might be termed a less fully developed administrative perspective. Both candidates still tend to view the administrator's role from the teacher's perspective -- a focus on workshops devoted to teacher materials, always being fair and backing up the teacher, getting along with everyone and really caring about teachers. There seems to be only a limited awareness of the set of work-world pressures faced by administrators -- how "organizations" work, the dependence of administrators on teachers to volunteer to help out with extra curricular activities, and the inevitable "trouble" associated with dances and ball-games.

Administrative Perspective

As candidates continued to adjust and adapt to the situation of candidacy, their administrative perspectives became more and more full to the extent that they became exposed to work-world pressures similar to those of administrators. Depending on what they had learned during candidacy, some newly appointed administrators adjusted easily, others had a lot of "new" learning to do, and others felt more and more aware of and frustrated by the differences between the teacher perspective (the "old" self) and the administrator perspective (the "emerging" self). Three different cases at the elementary level and two cases at the secondary level reflect the perspectives and the adjustments of these novice principals and assistant principals.

The first example is of the struggle a newly appointed assistant elementary principal experiences in coming to terms with her new situation as an administrator.

> It's really very...its a different kind of thing. Not only are you partly in the management end of it but you are also working with the teachers, and the students many times, too. So in that way it is rewarding. I think the main thing was the teacher's perception that all of a sudden -- well this is what I thought, anyway -- you're on the other side of the fence. There is a dividing line between teachers and administrators. I think that was my main concern, and also teachers concerns. I had never been at these two schools before, so teachers didn't know whether I was a friend or enemy. That was the main thing, to win those teachers over and to let them see by my actions more than anything else that I was really their friend. I guess I could say that most teachers feel that there is a dividing line between administration and their job or position in the school, and many times they look on principals and assistants as "the other people" -- they don't know what's going on. So I think I had leverage there in being new...that I had just come from a classroom and then going into this position, there was a little empathy there also...
>
> I don't think there should be a dividing line between principals and/or assistants and their faculty and staff. This was the feeling that I wanted to give the teachers -- that I was one of them, and yet at the same time that I had the children and the school as a whole in mind and that we were going to do things together for the entire school...
>
> Administration, from what I have been hearing in this last year, even though they were teachers at one time, they have a different perspective of what a teacher is now. They feel like a teacher is not, doesn't know enough about the running of the school and the problems that they face in the office...The teacher's point of view is a narrow one. Its just in her classroom and that's the only thing that she is concerned with there. And she doesn't understand how the administration feels when he has to deal with 600 other children and staff and so forth, plus take care of paper work and attend meetings and so forth. In a way it is true. Once you get in one position you don't see the other's viewpoint at all. The administrator looks at the total picture and the teacher just looks at the small portion...
>
> Number Eleven

This novice assistant principal is ambivalent regarding her relationship with teachers and administrators, seems to be somewhat on the fence herself, sees the differences in perspective, and values the chance to gain more administrative experience:

> You can sit in another position as a teacher, resource person, or counselor, and look at things, and you do not get the true picture until you are there -- you are actually in that position. Like dealing with discipline problems; sure, you deal with discipline problems when you are in a classroom but unless you are actually in the principal's position and having to actually discipline the child, before you can turn around here's another one being sent to the office for something. Working with parents -- total parents, not just a few in your classroom, and then trying to decide what is the best method for this teacher to teach reading or arithmetic or something -- it may not apply to the other person. All these things I look on as a challenge. You have no idea of what is actually going on as a teacher.
>
> Number Eleven

After several years as an assistant, this novice administrator reflects on how her new role as acting principal differs from that of being the assistant principal:

> I think as a principal I have more input into people, personnel itself. The principal is to be the guiding light. They want a principal who is willing to listen to them, not only about their classroom problems and playground behavior -- personal things that take place at home. So I find that many evenings I spend on the phone because the person wants to call and let off steam about something that is going on at home. In that respect it is very different from the assistantship, in that when you are an assistant principal, you are dealing mostly with instruction and program, and just paper and pencil kinds of things. As the principal they expect that you will become involved in their personal life. Many times it doesn't stop with just the teacher. Parents will call before I go home -- "someone was throwing a rock down the street" or "can't you do something about this house -- have it condemned because it isn't clean" or "go down to City Hall and talk about the traffic problems three blocks from your school." So you're really involved with the community, and not only community but your own staff, in their personal lives. They expect you to be the mediator and the solver of all these problems that are confronting them in their own personal lives. In that respect I feel like sometimes the responsibility of being a principal is much more than is written in your job description. It encompasses many more things.
>
> I'd say the type of thing that I've been involved in has been more of a kind of political thing. The political hassle that goes on within the system. That has bothered me, more than anything else. Knowing that you're not getting the support that you should from higher administration; that every decision you make must go through the different levels -- and if it concerns someone who happens to be a relative, then you're going to get a rebuttal -- you know, "why did you do this?"
>
> Number Eleven

As this person has progressed from being a teacher to being an acting principal her perspective has changed and is now much broader in scope. She no longer is so concerned about the marked contrast between teachers' and administrators' views of their work-worlds, although she has not fully embraced or come to appreciate or understand all of the orientations associated with administrative perspective. She does not accept the "politics" of the larger system, in terms of how her superiors make decisions, and she received two reprimands from superiors for what they viewed as a failure on her part to control her staff. Her teachers had wanted to write letters to the Board members and to the superintendent in an effort to get her appointed permanently as their school principal. Her view was that she had no control over their actions -- "I looked at this letter as something I had no control over." "The superintendent called me in and said -- Why did you let your teachers write this letter; you know that certainly doesn't look right!" "He (the superintendent) was saying that I should be looking out for the principal (who was on leave), and that the teachers certainly shouldn't write a letter inviting someone out without the principal knowing." Her view is "I was reprimanded because of the actions of someone else and I really don't feel this was fair...so those things seem to get in the way of the administration of the school."

While one may agree or disagree with Number Eleven's view of the situation, the implication is that she either does not fully understand the nuances of the system's norms or at least does not agree with the orientation of her superior; i.e. relative to the superior's perspective, she should have known better. In another instance, she was reprimanded regarding her comments on a teacher evaluation report. "My superintendent said on my evaluation that maybe I am a little too honest with my teachers. I said: I'm very sorry, maybe I am, but I

always believe that honesty is best. I'm not going to hide things. I'm going to speak my mind...I'm not going to hide things."

Number Eleven appears to have made a reasonable transition, although it is clear that she is not entirely comfortable with all of the norms and orientations of the administrative work-world, particularly those which may require her to compromise her basic values and her image of what she believes in as an administrator: "As a principal I think the main focus is putting it all together and saying, here's the child, and the teacher, and the books and my job is to see all these blend together so that we give every child an opportunity to learn as much as he or she can while they're here." The investigator speculates that the seasoned administrator would react to this image with a knowing smile, perhaps approving of that view but feeling that it's a bit naive. On the other hand, the view she holds may be the hint of a new set of norms evolving around instructional management and improvement, and closer working relationships with teachers and instructional programs. Time will only tell us how well she adjusts to the principalship -- and in what ways her perspectives are changed or reenforced.

In contrast to the previous candidate's perspective as a novice assistant principal, Number Sixteen held a more completely developed administrative perspective upon beginning her administrative appointment at mid-year as acting principal of a small elementary school. She had worked for approximately five years in a supervisory position at the district level, and in this role had an opportunity to work closely with many principals in a variety of schools. She comments initially (in retrospect) on her experience in the one-half year acting principal role, speaking from her current situation, which is as principal of a large elementary school in a more affluent section of the city:

> I think that schools are very different. My first school was just like day and night compared to this school. The climate was

different, and the expectations of the kids are different. So your experience as a principal will definitely depend on what the expectations are. And when I was down there it was very different from here, in being a much easier job. Much easier...

No parent pressure. Teacher cooperation was just terrific. They didn't question anything. They were the kind of people that just went right about their business, you know, and we probably didn't have nearly as interesting things happening as we do here. But the principal's job, if you want a nice easy-type job, that school has got it. Nothing to it. I don't think you would feel like you had done a whole lot other than just keep order each day, but still you could go home and not be nearly as tired, too. I think of some of the elementary schools that have 900, you know, no those principals must really be down and out.

Number Sixteen

She seemed to be comfortable in the initial setting and reported few frustrations or problems in making that transition:

I didn't know what to expect. I knew a little about the community. I sort of knew what I was walking myself into but I didn't know how they were going to accept me. The staff came around very quickly. That was a real plus because I had no idea of how they would feel about a woman principal and somebody in the middle of the year...and they were super.

The first week I was there we had a mother-daughter banquet, and that was planned before I arrived, and we did serve 400 -- just mothers and daughters, not even sons. That is where they will come and learn to trust you a little more. I think those functions really gave me a good insight into the community. They have some definite community leaders. They had some people there who had been land owners for over a hundred years and hated the ones across the street and fought with them for a hundred years and brought it to school. There were grandmothers that would come for the conference, with the parents, and tell them what to do in the office about the grandchildren, and that was the way the family culture was. I had to learn exactly where I stood and had to deal with it, and that was something. I had to learn about kids that had no place to go after school. I had to learn about kids that ran away, the parents would call me late at night to help find them. It was a community school...there was nothing out that way. The parents didn't do much with getting together, other than a school function. You couldn't get them there for a conference very often, but you could have a pot luck dinner and serve 400 easily -- and we had a whole bunch of them that semester -- they really came for that kind of thing.

Number Sixteen

She was assigned to that school on only a temporary, acting basis, and moved over the summer to a permanent position in another school -- a situation

that she found quite difficult and quite frustrating. In the new assignment she was confronted with an entrenched staff who prided themselves on having the best school in town -- "it has the highest test scores in town and always has." Only three principals had served there in the history of that school, and each had been promoted to very senior level positions of responsibility within the district. "The teachers take great pride in their school and they take great pride in their leadership, and there was absolutely no way they could see a woman in that job." Some three years later she reflects:

> The thing that was so bad was, of course, dealing with the people. They had a new principal when they did not want a new principal, and they had loved the principal that was here -- and he was super great -- and a very hard act to follow. So I dealt with that all year. Well, I'll deal with that forever. But it is so much better now.

She downplayed her difficulties somewhat that first year -- "I've had to earn acceptance here and I think I'm over the hill, I'm not sure yet. This staff is a tremendous group of people. Many of them have been here quite a long time...I think I've almost earned my wings. We have been through enough ups and downs now that I think I'm almost there." Two years later, reflecting upon those early days, she says "I though I was going to die about 75 different times. It was very bad. This year is about 150% better, oh yeah!"

In elaborating upon her assessment of the situation, again in retrospect, she said:

> (there were) disagreements among the staff and disagreements with me and even sharing some of that on the outside of the school; and some of the parents were upset with me, and just a little bit of all of it. I think they just took a long time to decide that I was not here to do them in or to do anything other than the best I could for the kids in the school, and needed their support with it.

When asked to comment on what she saw as the general problem, she said:

> It is just this terrible peer thing that you have to deal with. I have six (teachers) in this building that have been in the same room in this building for twenty years. And listen, they have been through every one of the principals. They opened this building and they stick together, and they are not about to cross each other, even if they

> disagree...I had a pretty good idea that it was a very structured school and that change would be very hard...there were enough new people that I thought would come around -- but what I didn't realize was that the newer people had already aligned themselves with the older people. That was a shock!...I should have known that -- I was a teacher for eleven years before I worked at the district level -- And I know that peer pressure is just something else when you live in a building. But somehow when you are sitting in a different place you forget that feeling and it brought it back -- the fear I saw of how they wouldn't talk in front of each other, and they would start out by saying "You have to promise me that you won't tell the others", and all the scaredness of what each other thinks -- and, "If she is mad at you I'm not', or "but I have to be because she is", or -- it is just this terrible peer thing...I didn't anticipate that!
>
> Number Sixteen

Number Sixteen's transition to her new assignment as principal of this medium-sized, well-though of school was traumatic for her. She hadn't anticipated the difficulties of succession and found herself scrambling to survive her first year. In the comments which follow she describes the "new learning" she experienced in making the adjustment to this situation.

> One of the criticisms I got is that I'm always opening it up for discussion and they don't know where I'm coming from. And that part of guidance, we had done so much of that as counselors, is bad news as a manager -- its no good. They want to know where you are.
>
> I was having to re-educate myself, and it wasn't up, it was down. I didn't know that people were still thinking as small and petty as whether the bell is three minutes late or not, and it was really exasperating to me to come and find out that people would not even speak to each other the next day over something just that silly. And I often spent a good deal of my time making sure those little petty things don't happen.
>
> I still think that somehow, that teachers -- if they could have an easier job and get out of that classroom a little bit more, and feel a little bit flexible themselves, they might not react that way. When they do, then it affects the whole school climate.
>
> Number Sixteen

> There are some real personality problems in the staff -- interpersonal kinds of things, and jealousy between grades. "You gave them the last hand-out and I didn't get one;" and then, the mistrust. They always report each other. They just don't seem to trust each other. They are always looking after their children the next year -- they feel like they're the ones that are really trying and the next one isn't.
>
> I feel that a principal many times is a punching bag. It takes somebody that knows or at least can convince himself that he is doing

> a good job, and that your every effort is directed toward the betterment of the kids, and that regardless of what it appears, you've done what you think is right. A pretty broad-minded and big person to take it and go on -- to retaliate makes you small and makes you narrow and makes you as bad or worse than the person attacking.
>
> Number Sixteen

In addition to the pressures within the school, in gaining the confidence of the staff and learning how to deal with teachers -- learning "down" as she puts it, she also found herself confronted by a very active and concerned parent community, quite unlike that which she had experienced in her first administrative assignment.

> Its very routine here to see parent after parent after parent, but you can't call it routine in the types of problems they are presenting because it can be anything from a real problem to a minor problem, from a real over-reaction to a compliment.
>
> We have to have strong people here to survive the pressure of the community. This school has always had the highest achievement in the district. What comes with it is people that come and say "I'm really worried about my child" and you look at the test scores and he is reading on the ninth-grade level and he's in the fifth grade, but they are worried. And, "He is only in this book and the boy across the street is reading in that book" and those are very real and there are very, very upset parents over it. And you have to deal with it.
>
> You make sure the community is informed by testing meetings and giving them a print-out of their own kid. And every time you make a change -- like we started a multi-age program -- we had two meetings with the community on that before we started it. You had better keep them informed if you don't want the school blown up.
>
> Number Sixteen

She apparently has less difficulty with this aspect of her role, and the investigator speculates that this is so because this aspect of the situation more closely paralleled what she had experienced the preceeding five years in her supervisory role at the district level. Even though she did not deal directly with the community in that situation, her general work environment at the district level and her close associations with the superintendent and assistant superintendent sensitized her to the nuances and importance of being responsive to community and parent concerns. Additionally, her background as a

counselor probably also eased her transition regarding this dimension of her role. She was at ease in talking with parents and prided herself on her listening skills.

Her major lament is that her role as principal does not permit her to do as much program development as she would like, which she said she enjoyed more than anything else. In the comments below it is easy to see the "press" of the situation she encountered, and the difficulty a principal has in "managing" uncertainty -- it clearly is an environment characterized by unpredictability.

> This is a very different position. It has its rewards but its not as much fun. Its a lot harder work. This is more of a routine kind of thing even though we are dealing with the public and the kids -- and that makes it different because everybody comes in with a different thing. Still, there is basically some routine to it. There are things that you have to do, like tons of paperwork that you hate. I'd much rather be out talking to people than doing this. Program development is the kind of thing I like to do. That's what I did before. And that's what I'd like to do here, but that is just a very small part of a principal's job. There are lots of other duties that I've learned to do that I will never think are the greatest...the paper stuff and the reports. I hate it. I mean I just hate it. Once in a while it all goes home with me.
>
> It is a big deal when the T.V. blows up in the classroom right before lunch, and I move all the kids out -- and the teachers don't say anything till the principal gets there to move them. And its on and on and on. You are everything to everybody. Then there are always a couple of teachers a day that have some sort of personal problem and they really do want to talk to you. That usually happens after school because you don't have the time any other time.
>
> I just don't have time to do program development. I don't have an assistant. I just have 500 kids here and I have to do it all, and that means the paperwork, and the secretary's job and the nurse -- I just have a nurse one day a week. When the secretary's sick -- I have a sub today for the first time. The phone is up to you, and everything. There are just so many maintenance things. You have no help. So you are busy all day, and at the end of the day you say "By golly, I can't think of a thing I did that was important." But at the time it was an emergency. I use to preach "quit the crisis business and get into prevention." Well, I could say the same thing to myself right now.
>
> Number Sixteen

Like Number Sixteen's, Number One's experience in his initial administrative assignment as principal of a medium-sized elementary school in a semi-rural

bedroom community was wrought with turmoil, but it was turmoil that came of his efforts to turn around a "failing" school in the context of a highly politicized community environment. Number One's initial administrative perspective at the time of role-entry was one of the most fully-developed and, perhaps because of his earlier experience in another district as a member of a negotiating team and president of the teacher's association, he was very sensitive to the nuances and importance of identifying and using power within a school district organization.

> The politics are very heavy and there is quite a bit of nepotism in the school system. I am a rarity. I am only one of two people who have ever been hired in the district as an administrator from the outside. This building has a reputation of being the most difficult to administer in the district because it serves what amounts to two very distinct attendance areas, two different communities that are not merged into one city government. It is two different communities. They are very vocal in school politics.
>
> I nearly went under the first year. When you go through the Master's or Doctor's program you get a good set of categories, abstract categories, ways of categorizing people's behavior, thinking about what happens. But you don't really ever get the intensity of the experience in terms of the emotional impact it has on a person. Coming into a school where the achievement scores were way down in terms of reading and math, I made a decision that some kind of drastic things had to change. I went after the faculty. The only thing I could attribute the low achievement scores to was low teaching expectations. That's the only significant factor I could identify that made a difference. I really went at that. I went hard at that in terms of the reading program. Hard in terms of what people were doing on their lesson plans. How they were organizing things. Hard in terms of what they were doing in their teaching strategies. It's a very mixed bag of people here. Almost all of them were loyal to their former principal, now the superintendent. She had established that loyalty in a variety of ways. Interestingly enough, they were the ones that gave me the hardest time. Fortunately, she stood behind me. She transferred a number of those people out last year. Several more are going this year. So that in the period of three years I will probably have changed this whole faculty over so that most of them will be loyal to me and willing to put out the kind of effort that is necessary to change things around for kids. We have made dramatic jumps in the first class. The class that is presently in second grade is about, at least the top third in that top group, is at least ½ year ahead of where they ought to be according to the publisher's books. Now, that's a rare event. Its the first time it has every happened here. I know in two years, when that group gets into fourth grade and goes through fourth and I get them into fifth that I will have changed the scores around. When that group gets into fifth grade, we ought to be able to do a whole lot more things with that group, academically,

than any other group has been able to do before. This was done by concentrating on what was happening by and large in first grade.

I had a teacher last year who was very heavy into teacher associations and who really led the fight against me, and who had very low expectations for kids. She is no longer teaching first grade. She is in another building teaching third grade. The superintendent helped me out considerably. Even in a case where it was very awkward because most of the things I was trying to do were things that she didn't feel comfortable with being able to do herself. She wanted them done, but it meant treading on toes and friendships.

There were seven people here in the building who filed a group grievance against me. The second I have had in two years. I just got another one from another team of five teachers. Two haven't done a very good job this year. I'm getting rid of one of those two who is coming up for tenure next year.

The first one was a pretty bad thing because I had put a lot of pressure on teachers and they reacted with a lot of anxiety or fear. Had I not done it, however, I don't think I every would have gotten this building to move. So, they cursed me, heavily. I have a reputation in the district for being a real bastard, and its a hard reputation to live up to -- I don't really feel like one. I did feel like something had to be done and proceeded to do it, but I don't really feel somehow that that has anything to with me.

I looked at scores, academic scores here. I also knew something else about the position. I knew about the fact that whoever was here had to be able to get along with people in radically different communities. Not only get along, but you have to be able to bring along the Spanish-American people who traditionally have come to this building and feel it to be theirs. It meant achieving a balance in what parents did in the building. This is the only building in the system that has an active PTA. One of the necessary elements for surviving in this school was to be able to work effectively with your parent population. Part of the aspect of that involves two things. One, you deliver the vote and bond issues. Secondly, you kind of keep those people off the backs of the Board of Education. If you can do that sort of thing -- and you are never going to be totally successful -- they are going to feel that you are doing an adequate job in the principalship. So, I worked very hard on the parent group. In addition to the PTA, the school has a mandated needs assessment committee structure that allows you to work both within a district and local building level, and I organized a local building needs assessment committee last year. We worked very hard to see what parents felt the needs for this particular building were. That worked very nicely because it got me in touch. I chose those people from every aspect of the communities we serve. It enabled me to use parents not just on the PTA, and communicate with them about my hopes, asperations, desires for the school, where I would like to see it go, and most of the people tended to agree.

I had one mother, for example, who has always lived in this area immediately adjacent to the school, whose father and mother-in-law are very heavy into local politics, and she is another contributing to my stability in this position. Unbeknownst to almost anyone who operates with her, other than the fact that she always has loads of information and nobody realizes the source of that information, or anything else. She has been another one who has been a political ally and very sensitive to the kinds of conflict that occurs between local people and the people from the new communities, and she is capable of working across both domains.

I used the local needs assessment committee last year to apply pressure to the faculty, because I felt I could make it very apparent without doing very much myself. The parents really hoped to see a different kind of attitude.

The other thing was kind of carrying along those people who weren't going to fight me openly, and just literally convincing them that "yes, you can do these things, it is not that difficult." For example, I would get lesson plans in at the beginning of last year in which they would have Reading on Monday thru Thursday, and not on Friday -- they were too tired. So I pointed out that if you do that consistently all year long, 1/5 of their school year is gone. They were just kind of shocked by those kinds of reasonings.

At any rate, I looked at what was happening here in the building. I looked at what was happening in the parent community. I looked at what was happening in the parent community. I looked at the dictates I was getting from the superintendent and the Board Members, and I chose a course. I think I was very lucky that I survived that first year. It could have gone either way. They just gave me my second contract.

Number One reflects below on other aspects of his adjustment during this transition period -- the emotional density of the situation, the values characterizing the community, the difficulty of staying on top of things organizationally, some unexpected difficulties in not tenuring a teacher, and his efforts to try and consolidate his power and use it effectively.

The emotional density -- the reality of that density, the impact of it is incredible on a person. It was primarily the faculty relationship. All of the other things though, too, like I knew none of the children the first year. This year I have systematically stayed in the lunchroom daily and have every kid excuse himself from me on a daily basis. I know, with the exception of the kindergarten classes who don't go through the lunchroom, I know every child in the building this year. Last year, I didn't. I can now place children with parents. With a little bit of scrambling, mentally, I can address parents appropriately.

Another part of it is just not knowing the values that people have. That's always a shock because one of the things you have in a community like this -- it is a heavily Spanish-American, Catholic community, but also you have the fundamentalists who have crept in here and there, taking people away from the Catholic Church -- there are many who have strong feelings about that -- so it meant that I was helping the Spanish-American community to maintain being elected, and fighting against, working against the Anglo community -- which helped me out because that is the way the election went. It was a slim margin. They almost got it. It was only a difference of about 100 votes. Eventually, it is going to turn over in this community. But, I am hoping that when it does turn over, it doesn't turn over to the fundamentalists. It means your ability to survive in a secular institution thins out considerably.

These people come out of California, Texas, and a lot of people from the East Coast who have come to escape the harsh winters and that sort of thing. The school has traditionally been serving the area from the wrong side of the tracks; I serve another area that is made up of small farmers. About 3/5 of the school population comes out of that traditional Spanish-American farmer community, and about 2/5 comes out of that new community -- you get a value mix. We probably have more value disputes between kids and a lot more fights and that sort of thing, but that's to be expected when you get that tremendous shift in values and a cross-population of people.

I don't know how much my survival is going to go beyond this teacher situation. He is an Anglo but he is married to a Spanish-American who has a large extended family in the community, and they chose to fight it. Another contract would have been his tenure contract. He has a relative who is a member of the State Board of Education and you can imagine the kind of thump that has in a community like this. They are also my neighbors, next door neighbors, and I didn't know that. The relative who is on the State Board of Education is my nearest immediate neighbor.

All of us were surprised by his tie into long-standing family lines. It probably wouldn't have changed my decision. I probably would have gone ahead, but I may have talked to him a little bit differently earlier in the year, and spent more time trying to get him to come around in terms of doing things. That is a very difficult kind of thing. I have a faculty here of 24 certified personnel, and I am the only principal in the district who has consistently observed teachers, leading up to those evaluations.

Some of the things that you need to do organizationally, to keep something like this afloat, are becoming easier. That whole thing of being a maintainer is certainly there. You try to do a lot and you feel things are just creeping out the edges, away from you, all the time, and you don't have very much control. It is interesting how that aspect of the role creeps on you. I have felt it creeping on me this year much more than last year. I hadn't really thought about that much last year. I put more thought and energy into surviving and looking at opportunities and that sort of thing.

> I am beginning to be able to consolidate some aspects of my own power, and I know this is going to continue. I am crawling into this. It is like I am taking baby steps. For example, the reputation of being a bastard. It is really, it is like saying there are some relevant standards and that they can be met. I never really realized this until just the last two weeks when we have gone through the problems with this one teacher. That there is a segment in the community, I don't know how large it is right now, that would really like to see this done. That allows me to consolidate and identify sympathetic elements in the community. I never really saw that as an advantage until the last couple of weeks.

Number One reflects upon his first two years and feels he's made progress, though it hasn't been easy, particularly given the volatile situation and the basic difference in his style and that of his predecessor.

> The former principal, who is now superintendent, was a very lenient kind of person. She tends to value friends, relationships, above and beyond what is accomplished. I tend to be the other way around. I tend to value what you can accomplish and get done and for people, above and beyond friends and relationships per se.
>
> Its gotten much easier. I am beginning to see some results. I look at it a bit in terms of it being like that first year really being about 4 years in length. If I can meet certain fundamental achievement goals with the kids, then I think I can start turning the faculty over into other kinds of directions. Once that becomes established as a base -- that this is how we operate, this is the minimum we provide kids -- then I am looking for other kinds of things happening. We are going to begin doing some more stimulating, exciting, and interesting things with kids.
>
> Number One

Number Thirteen, a recently appointed high school assistant principal, comments on her initial year and provides some insight regarding her transition into this new situation. She has a fully-developed perspective and appears to take it all in stride, though not without some frustrations.

> When I was hired in I had discipline and attendance for the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. That's a killing load for anybody -- it was an impossible situation. The person who was here just before was a woman also. She could not get along with the staff, the secretaries. The faculty was up in arms. I really had some things going against me coming in. I was fighting fire, quite literally, to survive that first year. I had to prove I could do it regardless of the situation against me. I set out to gain some visibility with the faculty in

spite of being buried in the attendance and discipline. This was the priority. I wanted from the very start to let them know I was instructionally oriented and those kinds of things. (The next year) I moved from 10, 11, 12 discipline to assistant principal for curriculum and 12th grade discipline. I have the responsibility for graduation, data processing, transcripts and records, that sort of thing. I think I've managed to carve out a good position for me. It's very hectic.

The lady who was here before me really got sunk into the detail. I was determined that was not going to happen to me. She was calling parents at 6 o'clock in the morning and 12 o'clock at night. I wouldn't do things like that.

The male coach, who was holding the job temporarily -- I was surprised at the allowance for error. I could see all of the problems that he caused in the office and the things that had been done incorrectly, yet he was still held in very high esteem. I felt as though I were being measured against him constantly. I felt that, frankly, everything I was doing was being compared with what he had done. I was very aware of being checked over -- checking with a teacher to see how I had handled something -- which was fine. I was glad somebody was looking at it and judging it. I think that's one of the main reasons I got the secretaries on my side. They are most supportive of me. They started making some of the first signs. It was okay. They saw what I was doing and how I handled things on a day to day overall basis. They helped me by being go-between.

My perspective has changed more with my particular principal than with principals on a whole. My principal is one of the good ole boys. He has put in his time and the group of men here is very, very close knit. The other assistant principal used to be football coach, involved in all the sports, played football with the principal in college, so they go back a long way. He's one of the best athletic directors around. He is very lacking in any kind of intellectual skills or working with people. He treats teachers as he would approach a football team. Regardless of what goes on, it will go on. The other assistant principal is very close to retirement; another good ole boy. I somewhat refer to him as The Court-jester. He has the corniest jokes and I enjoy him. As far as working with him, he is kindly and sincere, a lovable person and he works well with those 9th and 10th graders as far as discipline and attendance. He is the principal's sounding board. They talk about the good old days, that sort of thing. That's just it. He doesn't have any information about what's going on, really, in the school. He seems to be completely oblivious to the real problems.

It is very difficult to even meet. We eat lunch together between the two lunches. We always bring ours and we have 15 minutes, maximum. It is very difficult because it is a ritual thing. The assistant comes in with his corny joke -- he has to come in with a really dirty joke for the principal about once a week. That really seems to recharge him, or something. It's not all that unpleasant. I am regarded as a lady. I think I am establishing myself in that area -- not trying to become one of the boys, or anything like that.

> The principal is very impulsive. One lady who was trying for a voluntary transfer came up and he thought very highly of her. He had promised her a job. Of course, that leaves me up the creek because I'm trying to deal with a schedule. He acts very impulsively . . . and I think of it from a program standpoint -- does this person fit with the entire staff. I tend to be very deliberate and more careful in these things.
>
> The big recreation is horseshoeing. I could never become part of that. The principal has been shooting horseshoes in the afternoon and working out. So that's pretty much of a closed area. I find that I get along very well with his wife. She happens to have been a business teacher. That has helped me gain some insight into how he operates.
>
> Number Thirteen

Number Thirteen has made a successful transition but is frustrated by her administrative peers, her superior, and that she has to contend with "a bunch of good old boys" who don't appear particularly competent or as interested as she is in managing and developing the instructional program. While her orientation toward instruction contrasts with the orientations and priorities of her administrative colleagues, and while it has been difficult for her to become part of a "male" routine that includes "dirty jokes" and "horseshoes", she appears to have successfully integrated herself into the group, handling her share of student discipline and managing to carve out a niche that serves to preserve her instructional priorities and enables her to succeed as an assistant principal.

Number Twelve, also a high school assistant principal, who entered her position with a fully developed administrative perspective, had an experience somewhat similar to that of Number Thirteen, though now after three years on the job she finds herself in a situation where it is she, and not the principal, who

is managing the school. She prides herself on being able to handle the situation, and, in her words, she's been "ready" for a while.

> That first semester, the principal decided that all of his assistants, the three of us, should share in attendance and discipline. This was fine. I did not mind taking on a portion of attendance and discipline. However, he was very reluctant to shed any other responsibilities from me. In fact, the only responsibility I gave up was field trips; which means signing your name on a sheet of paper. That was it. That was a very difficult semester. It was just awfully hard to handle the whole area of curriculum which I have. There is curriculum and the counseling and the registrar and processing; and then I have a portion of the senior class for all the attendance and discipline and the hearings and the parent conference and all of the work that one has to do with teachers in order to do a good job in that area. As I said, I didn't lose a thing except the field trips. I told him that I would give it my best shot. I would try and I did. But, it was totally impossible because if you try to do one thing well, then the other things slide. That's just exactly what happened. There was no way of doing justice to the curriculum and still try to keep up with the attendance and discipline. I went in and told him I would keep him apprised. I told him that I felt professionally that was the way to operate. I saw him twice. I told him there was no way, unless he would relieve me of some other areas of responsibility and give them to the other two assistants. But that just never happened. I was relieved of the attendance and discipline at the end of that first semester, which was excellent, it really was.
>
> Number Twelve

Some three years later she recounts a recent major crisis in her school and describes her view of the situation and how she handled it.

> Operationally, I really feel that I carry a tremendous load here at this school. There are some interesting things that have happened here at the school. Not very happy things either. This has been a terribly traumatic year. The second week of school, in September, we had a riot on campus. It just involved a few kids but it was one of those things that really got out of hand. So that really started the school year off on a sour note. We had the police here. We had school security. Day after day, we had TV coverage which, of course, was very negative. The principal was under a tremendous amount of pressure. He had been under pressure starting last spring beginning with our Parent Booster Club - because we didn't have a winning football team. That really got things going. Then, when we had the riots on campus and we had one the second week of school. We had tension here that you couldn't believe - that lasted for over a month. It was really very bad. Then, there was a parent group in the community that decided that they wanted a new principal. The attacks

began. The meetings began. A lot of things were happening covertly for quite a number of months in the fall of last year. Then finally it came out in the open and right around November, election time, they were handing out leaflets at the polls asking people to come to a big meeting over here at the Community Center. At which time they just ripped this school up one side and down the other. They couldn't find anything good about this school. You name it and there was nothing positive at all. Really their main target was the principal. I was terribly concerned because I could see him beginning to retreat more and more and more. I walked with my superiors to express my growing concern about his mental health. I was asked to keep them apprised. What has happening that whole period, was that I was being asked to do more - to carry it - because the principal was under such emotional duress that he reached the point where he was incapable of making a decision. That's how bad it got. He was seeing a doctor. He was under medication. Very simply, he could not make a decision and the one who had to make decisions was me. That was a rough Fall because it's a very frustrating thing to be asked to take on all of this additional responsibility but you don't really carry the decision-making powers that go with it. I could only go up to point "X" and knew darn well that I had to go beyond that but knew that I couldn't and still keep things afloat around this place. To make a long story short, after the Christmas holidays, things just went from bad to worse. Finally, the principal called me one day and said he couldn't bring himself to come to school anymore. It was terribly traumatic. It really was. We put a note on the door "out - Ill Today," this kind of stuff. The staff was asking a lot of questions. The staff could understand if somebody is out one day, maybe even two days but when it begins to stretch out.... It was very difficult. Finally it was the Monday of that third week in January, and I had been to the district office and had talked to the people and done a lot of stuff that the principal simply had not gotten done in the way of ordering, and additional monies had been given to us, and this sort of thing. That needed to be done. I got it done. The main concern was that we needed a principal. We needed somebody to get in here and no decision was made. Even though they knew that the principal did not want to come back. Finally that Monday - it was that mid-term day when the kids are not here on campus - I just took the bull by the horns. I called an emergency faculty meeting at 8:30 that morning, all staff, to let them know that (1) the principal would not be returning; (2) administratively things were under control here at the school. In other words we were keeping the ship afloat and everything was fine - and we were simply awaiting a decision from the Central Office as to who would be the new principal. That was on Monday and we had a new principal by Wednesday. It had to be done. It has been a very traumatic year. It has been a lot of pressure and a lot of sadness - dealing with low staff morale - really carrying things.

Number Twelve, like Number Thirteen and Number One, began her first administrative appointment with a well developed perspective and made a reasonably smooth transition into her new situation. She has had a successful three years,

though the situation was not exactly smooth-sailing, and she prides herself on having developed her reputation in the area of instruction -- as a curriculum leader.

> I really feel strong, I do. I have always had a very good tolerance level for frustration. I have always been able to cope with frustration and anxiety. Thank Heavens, especially when I think back on this year. Talk about dealing on a day to day basis with a tremendous amount of stress. If I had hadn't been able to handle it, I probably would have cracked up. Just like the principal cracked up. I am just not built that way. I do feel professionally that there are very few situations that I can't confront. There are very few situations that I cannot handle - from a riot to a textbook order. I feel very good about that. I feel better than ever about my role in curriculum. I have had some very nice things said to me. I am considered to be a real curriculum leader. That makes me feel good. I have people who have said: If You ever leave the school, I've got to go with you because you are the person I want to work for. These are also nice things to hear. That makes me feel good. curriculum leader.

Theoretical Propositions

The basic thesis explored in this paper is that "context" is an important determinant of both role-learning during candidacy and role-enactment after appointment as a principal or assistant principal. Socialization processes characterizing the candidacy situation interact with individual dispositions and shape both the perspective which evolves toward candidacy as well as the development of administrative perspective. Upon appointment to a position as principal or assistant principal, individual dispositions and the administrative perspectives developed during the candidacy period interact with and shape the individual's response to the context of role enactment as a novice administrator. School contexts are quite variable, and differences in context are instrumental determinants of behavior in the administrative role. The degree of correspondence between the context of candidacy and the context of role-enactment as a novice administrator is instrumental in mediating the smoothness of transition into the administrative role and, subsequently, the

novice's view of what is or is not problematic about their particular work context. What the novice views as problematic vis a vis adjustment is always viewed as important to successful role enactment, but the former is not always problematic, though it is always viewed as important.

Four dimensions of the work context were viewed by novice administrators as important determinants of successful role-enactment. These include relations with teachers, with the community, with peers and superiors, and the necessity to establish and/or develop routines associated with organizational stability and the maintenance of smooth day-to-day school operations. Which of these is viewed as most problematic by the individual is a function of the degree of correspondence between the role-learning which occurs during candidacy and characteristics of the work context which the rookie principal or assistant principal encounters.

Discussion

Studies of school principals generally either examine relationships between administrative performance indicators and organizational process and outcome variables, or gather descriptive data regarding their day-to-day work activities. While both strategies result in useful contributions that help the field understand the complexities of leading and managing schools, those results provide little information regarding what might be termed the "history" of administrative behavior or the "contexts" which shape administrative behavior. The underlying assumption guiding the present study is that past performance is a reliable predictor of future performance. Turning this around a bit, the present study is an effort to understand the connections between day-to-day behavior during the candidacy period and subsequent work orientations and adjustments as an administrator. The premise is that the orientations acquired during candidacy are a major determinant of behavior as an administrator.

For example, in earlier reports discussing research on the vice principal, Greenfield (1984), Marshal (1984), and Reed (1984) offer data regarding the work activities of vice principals which suggest that the largest category of activity involves supervising students and engaging in a host of related activities, the primary purpose of all these activities being to maintain organizational stability. The vice principals spent little or no time in work activities in the instructional domain, and it is hypothesized that if and when those persons become school principals they will continue to devote the majority of their time to activities associated with supervising students and maintaining organizational stability. Why? This is what they have learned to do, and they've received rewards in the past for their performances in those areas -- this is the work with which they are most familiar. While they now, in turn, have assistants to help them so that they might turn their attention to the broader range of concerns that characterize the principalship, it is unlikely that they'll spend an appreciable time working in the instructional domain. Why? They've not had occasion to learn much about that domain in the past and thus are not likely to engage in work activities about which they know little or about which they feel uncomfortable.

While the preceeding is somewhat overstated, and clearly there are competing explanations for why administrators spend time as they do, the empirical and theoretical literature regarding socialization processes and outcomes offers a powerful basis for explaining why administrators behave as they do -- simply stated, they do what they do because that is what they have learned to do and have been rewarded for doing.

Obviously it is not quite as simple as this, but proceeding on the assumption that behavior is a function of earlier learning, this study has examined what individuals learn during candidacy, how the individual's adjustment to the

situation of candidacy influences what is learned, and the relationship between what has been learned during candidacy and the role orientations and adjustments evidenced in the transition to full-time work as a novice principal or assistant principal.

In both the situation of candidacy and in the situation of being a novice administrator, the work context itself has much to do with how individuals behave and what they must learn (or unlearn), in order to succeed in the situation. In the candidacy situation, the work context was a major determinant of the amount of access and visibility gained by candidates to members of the administrative group, and their degree of exposure to the pressures and problems associated with the work of administrators. As a result of visibility and access to the work-world of administrators, candidates acquired administrative perspectives; that is, they acquired the orientations, values, and attitudes characterizing members of the administrative group. Depending on the richness of the candidacy situation, some individuals acquired a fuller administrative perspective than others. Some candidates learned more than others and as a consequence those persons adjusted to the administrative work-situation more easily; those who learned less during candidacy had more difficulty in adjusting as novice administrators.

One way to conceptualize the transition to the administrative situation is to think of it in terms of what the degree of "fit" is between that context and what they learned during candidacy. Stated somewhat differently, what is the degree of correspondence between the situation of candidacy and the situation confronting the novice administrator. In the data presented earlier it appears that for some there was a good "fit", while for others this was not the case. Individuals in the latter group find they need to make some major adjustments in orientation if they are to succeed in the new situation.

Although the data are limited and the sample does not permit wide generalization, the cases of these individuals are nevertheless revealing, and do provide some support for the thesis being explored -- that what is learned during candidacy influences performance as an administrator. To provide support for the thesis, and to illustrate the interplay between earlier learning and administrative performance, the case of one individual is discussed briefly.

Number Sixteen experienced an easy transition in her first school (a mid-year acting appointment that lasted five months), but had considerable difficulty in the first few years of her second assignment, a regular appointment as principal of a medium-sized (500 students) elementary school. She had the greatest difficulty internally, in relations with teachers. The two other major areas which she viewed as central foci of her work as a principal included relations with parents and relations with "the system", which included superiors, other principals, and the nuances she had to learn regarding how "the system" worked. These two foci were somewhat problematic, with learning the nuances of "the system" being the most troublesome of the two.

She began teaching after graduating from college at age 21, and had worked in three positions before joining the present system. She taught elementary school for seven years and, at the urging of her superintendent, left her teaching assignment to become an elementary counselor. Upon completing a year long counselor training program located in the Northwest region of the country, she returned and was assigned as an elementary counselor to two schools. In that role she worked with teacher groups, kids, and groups of parents. After two years she was asked by the superintendent to work as a supervisor of counselors, reporting directly to him. She held this position for six years before being given her first assignment as a school administrator.

Her position as supervisor entailed overseeing the work of the elementary counselors and coordinating related programs. In her words, "it is a job where if it sounds like coordination of counseling, I'm called in." As a result of this experience she had opportunities to work directly with the superintendent, school principals, and elementary counselors. Much of her work entailed setting up and conducting workshops. While she gained a fairly broad understanding of some of the differences between different schools and different principals, she did not have much opportunity to work directly with teachers, nor did she have much exposure to the daily pressures of school administrators. She performed a staff support function for the system and worked in what might be termed a "sheltered" environment. She has a distant knowledge of the work of administrators and nearing the end of her candidacy period talks of their work in terms of "heaps of pressures", "walking a tightrope", "how to stretch yourself", "being secure as a person", and "selling the product". She prides herself on her skills as a counselor, believing they will be a real help to her as an administrator.

In her assignment as a principal she quickly learns that behaving like a counselor doesn't work very well -- "one of the criticisms I got is 'You're always opening it up for our discussion and we don't krow where you are.' That part of guidance that we had done so much of as counselors is bad news as a manager -- it is no good. They want to know where you are." She also found out she had much to learn about teachers and the nature of their concerns. "There have been many times when I had to just really try to think back as a teacher. I had been out of the school classroom situation for ten years. And so, well, I told my superintendent the first year that I was having to re-educate myself, and that it wasn't up, it was down...it was a re-education, and it was down...it was something I had to learn."

Number Sixteen manages to learn and survives the transition reasonably well. But she recognizes she wasn't as prepared as she might have been had her prior experience been different. In her words, "Serving as an assistant principal is better." What she is suggesting here is that had she had that experience she would have "fit" the context she encountered as a novice principal. While there were other elements in the new situation which confounded the smoothness of her transition (especially those associated with succession and the loyalty of the staff to the former principal), her lack of familiarity with the school administrator's immediate work-world appeared to be a major drawback for her, presenting her with the need to "re-educate" herself.

Implications and Recommendations

In discussing the results of a study of elementary principals using a large sample, Lortie (1983) states: "When respondents recall their beginning years they talk much about interpersonal problems and the difficulties of learning how to assert authority over teachers and how to deal with parents. Relational rather than technical problems preoccupied them as they sought to attain mastery of the new role." (p. 25) This general observation is supported by the experience of principals and assistant principals studied in this investigation, and adds further support to the basic thesis being explored here -- that what one learns prior to role entry has an impact on role performance and that the context of the work situation is a major determinant of one's behavior as a principal or assistant principal. This seems like a ridiculously obvious point, yet it is an issue which has received little informed attention in the preparation of school administrators. Most efforts at improving the preparation of school administrators focus on changes in formal coursework requirements associated with certification. The closest such efforts come to addressing the thesis explored here is perhaps to specify the requirement for an internship --

even at this, however, little attention is paid to the question of internship design, focus, intensity, duration, etc.

In studies of school effectiveness and in studies of school principals, the evidence is increasingly clear that a school principal can make a difference in the effectiveness of instructional programs. If this is so, and if the field of educational administration is committed to preparing highly qualified principals, it would seem to make sense that candidates for the principalship be exposed to a planned series of pre-entry role-learning situations. If this were done it would increase the degree-of-fit between what one learns in candidacy and what one needs to know and be able to do as a successful principal.

Much of the learning that takes place occurs informally, and in terms of the socialization processes described earlier, is difficult to direct or manage. It is as if what one learns is more or less the "luck of the draw." Who happens to be available as a role model and what the nature of the work situation is in which candidates' find themselves pretty much determines what one learns. It need not be so chancy or haphazard. While any experience is probably better than none at all, clearly some experiences are more helpful than others. This issue is much neglected in the preparation of school administrators.

Two important determinants of one's role orientation, for example whether it emphasizes stability, change, or some balanced integration of at least those and possibly other role orientations, are dispositions acquired during candidacy (the development of administrative perspectives) and characteristics of the school work context. The work context itself is a much understudied determinant of administrative behavior, and as data regarding the transitions of these novice administrators illustrates, school contexts differ. Successful

role-enactment requires that novice administrators adjust according to the requirements of the situation as those are perceived by that individual.

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